1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

586 tract from their pleasure in the recitation of the exchanges. Also, the
longer the marriage has lasted, the more elaborate will be the financial
182 reckonings—a factor that helps to stabilize marriages. Theoretically,
586 and almost always in practice, the bride-price exceeds the dowry, so
that the woman's family is in a debtor position. This too serves as a
check on facile divorce, since a woman's kin must be able to repay the
bride-price. On occasion a woman will be caught in a marriage from
which she cannot extricate herself because male kin cannot, or will not,
come to her support. Under such circumstances the only solution for
[87] her is to find a second husband who will pay back her first husband the
owed bride-price. This is generally possible, but the case of one young
woman caught in a strange village with a husband she did not like and
whose male kin were unsympathetic is worth repeating.

573 The girl had married a man from a distant village who paid her
father an unusually large bride-price, amounting to more than three
mokos worth about eighty dollars. The girl went to join her husband
but refused him sexual privileges. This is quite customary at the begin-
ning of marriage, so the husband was not too impatient. After a month,
[87] however, one night when she left the house to relieve herself he fol-
lowed her and raped her. Another source of friction was that she
wanted to cultivate a field near the village but he and his brothers in-
sisted that she work in a distant field where she professed to be in dan-
ger from wild pigs. After a few months of quarreling she ran back to
her own village to live with her maternal uncle who had brought her
up. Her mother had died when she was young and when her father re-
married she had been taken into the household of the uncle.

326 Her father was greatly annoyed at the rupture in the marriage, par-
ticularly since he had given so far very little dowry on her. However,
the husband forced the father into a repayment of all but a thirteen-
dollar-and-fifty-cent moko that the father refused to return until the
husband returned a five-dollar moko of the dowry payment. This
the husband refused to do because of a financial dispute as to precisely
what was owed. The girl's uncle too was angry because he had been
given no share in the bride-price, so that he refused to repay the hus-
band and complete the divorce. The girl, on her side, refused to find
another spouse who would assume her financial commitments. Both of
her male kinsmen were furious with her for what they considered her
unreasonable behavior. The father in his anger had taken back a shawl
he had given her, and the uncle refused to pay for a seer who would
counteract the poison that the girl said her husband had directed against
her. She had been ill for several months, a condition she attributed to

X159 brother, Atsumi, came and said I had better return with them. They
686 took me back, but on the way I ran away from them and hid in the
grass. They couldn't find me and turned back to Ruulkuneng and told
my husband he would have to pay, since I didn't want to leave and he
had already taken my heart. The chief sat and sat in the men [an em-
barrassing dunning procedure]. Then my husband promised that if they
came back in five or six days he would have something for them. In five
or six days they didn't come back. Lakuneu had already got a Kokmalo
X159 moko, so he said we had better take it to my kin. We took it to Mai-
tasne [instead of to the more distant kinsman, the chief of Atimelang,
who had less right to it]. Maitasne shot a hen and gave us some corn
and rice, which we took back to my mother-in-law. So I stayed on and
on until I was pregnant and gave birth to Wolmo. Before she could
crawl her father died. [Pause. I asked how her husband died.]

My husband wasn't sick, but he kept going and going until his body
was thin and his bones stuck out. At that time people were calling a
Good Being at Lakfui. Mopada was doing it. All the people went to
drink the water of the Good Being in order not to die. Lakuneu went
too. When he came back to Ruulkuneng, they said his body was thin
because the evil spirit of Akunfala was following him. There was a dry
tree there with a vine growing in it, and the tree had fallen over into
Lakuneu's garden and he had cut it all up. For this the evil spirit fol-
lowed him. He planted rice in the field. Even though he drank the water
of the Good Being, the evil spirit followed him, and when his rice
ripened and it was harvesttime, he died.

X159 At the time my husband died, Atsumi, the younger brother of the
708 chief of Atimelang, had come with a pig for the harvest feast. He said
we had better go back together, because there was no one now to pay
my bride-price. My mother-in-law said, "I am still living here. I am a
woman, but I can pay a bride-price for her." So I stayed there. My
mother-in-law said that Fanlang had taken twenty cans of her rice for
a carabao feast and he would pay for it with a moko. We could use the
moko for a bride-price. Fanlang paid with a Maningmauk moko, and
my mother-in-law gave the Maningmauk to Atsumi as a bride-price.
X159 Then my mother-in-law called a man of my husband's Female House,
● 587 also named Atsumi. She said, "If you come and stay with us here you
can marry her. But you must live here and you must follow my duties."
So this man came and stayed with us. He slept with me and made a
house. Then after a while he said, "Let us go to my uncle." [This differs
from her account on March 12, in which she implies that she married

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

her husband's uncle.] Once we were there, a large pig of his died, so he used it to give a death feast for his parents. He divided the rice to be pounded between me and his first wife. I began pounding it, but his first wife came and fought with me. She said I couldn't stay there, that we could not share a husband. She said I was from a strange village and I should return to it. So I didn't want to stay any longer and ran back to Lakawori's mother. Azumai's first wife still followed me and fought with me. I said, "Your husband doesn't bring anything to my house, so I don't want to stay here." Then I came back to Ariombang. [What did your mother-in-law say?] She said, "My daughter-in-law lives with me, yet you always come to fight with her. So now she can go home to her village. She can marry a man there in her own village if she wants to. If she doesn't, she can always live there and work in her fields."

At that time the rice was not yet ripe. I came back to Ariombang with my child. I wanted to help with the rice harvest, so I went back when it was ripe to help with the crop. By then my child could walk. When the rice was finished, my mother-in-law said, "Now that your child can walk, you can go back alone to your village. If you feel like it, you can come back here to see her. If the child is happy with me she can stay." So I came back alone. [Did you want to leave the child?] My mother-in-law said, "Your husband was my only child. Although your child is a daughter, she can take the place of her father. If the child goes to Ariombang, she will learn another dialect. If you take her away, every two or three days I shall be coming to see her and bring her back with me." So I said, "Good. I could stay here with you, but every day people would be coming to me and wanting to marry me to this man or that. So your child can stay here, and I shall go back." [How long ago was this?] This was two years ago. [Do you see the child often?] I have just cut a field of sun corn at Ruolkaseng and I take corn and beans to my child, and every morning she comes early to me and eats and stays on through the whole day with me. [Was this the first time you've seen her?] When I first came back here, I went all the time to see her. I always took her food—rice, beans, tubers, corn—but I didn't sleep near her. I was going to see her all the time. When my heart remembers, I must cook and take her food. She is about five or six now. [Ruolkaseng is about an hour's walk from here. Lomani has a garden there in her own right.] Five days ago when we were talking together, I had food already prepared in my house. When I left you, I took it to my garden. Padanu's mother had gone on ahead, and we two worked there that day in the fields.

[157] [Question.] When I came back here I stayed with Kawainami, and
●[587] I have stayed on with her ever since. Then Djaramani came to me. He
768 said, "I am also your husband because your husband was my elder brother [classificatory; i.e., he is referring to levirate principles]. I could give a pig as a free gift [*pangke*, the smallest of the bride-price payments]." So Djaramani gave a pig as a free gift for the Tilalawani feast. [Tilalawani was Lormani's lineage house, which was being rebuilt at the time. Djaramani as house-building partner should have helped with pigs. He was killing two birds with one stone.] Kawainami and I pounded rice for the feast. After that he came and lived with me in Kawainami's house.

[Did you love all three husbands or did you go to them just because your family said you should?] If my first husband had not died, I wouldn't have married the other two. They were his younger brothers [classificatory] and they said I had to marry them and couldn't marry other people. [A nice example of Alorese indirection. She implied that she was fond of her first husband only.]

March 17, 1939

[157] [No dreams, nor did she want of her own accord. I asked about her first memories of her mother, their quarrels, and their pleasures together.]

When I was still small, we were the Male House of Arakalitta of Malbiera. I, mother, and the others were staying at Kanungunbang. Arakalitta built a verandah for his death feast. He told us to fetch wood. So mother said we were to go fetch wood while she pounded rice. I, Marata, and Kolata went for wood while mother pounded rice. Lompale was to weave a wall for the verandah, but she wasn't clever at it. She got a basket [a kind of basket with an upright warp] and showed it to Fulupang and told Fulupang to copy it in weaving the wall. Then mother went to tie a big pig [i.e., contributes a pig to the feast]. Arakalitta tied even a larger pig. Mother said, "By and by my children will stare at other people's rooms. I had better give a pig so they will get rooms of their own." So we tied a pig, roasted it, and cut it up, we pounded rice and cooked it. The people who carved the room put a pig's leg in my small basket and in Kawainami's. That evening mother, I, and Kawainami went home to Kanungunbang, and the Malbiera guests came home with us.

[Lormani still had not referred to discipline or to any ill feeling between her mother and herself. I probed again for hostility toward the mother.]

li:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

grown, and I went to live with him. When I was pregnant, I didn't [57] want him any more. I gave birth to Manilang [her youngest son, at this time about twelve years old]. Manilang was a month old when Maliusi died.

[Why did you divorce Fanleka?] Fanleka and I lived together, and during this time Letfani's wife, Wakinan, died. Letfani sent a go-between to say, "If she has a child by Fanleka, we can divide the child, but I must have back my wife (i.e., his dead brother's widow and so his wife by the levirate). Here is a Manangamak snake and a gong for her brothers." When the go-between delivered this message, I returned to Atimelang with him. [Were you sorry for Fanleka?] No. Letfani made a litigation to get me back. The go-between and I came back here for it. The night of the litigation, before a decision had been reached, I went up into a house to sleep. Fanleka stole into the house, went to my carrying basket, and took thirty cents from me. Letfani threatened to shoot Fanleka if he returned to Atimelang, so I thought I had better marry Letfani. Also, Fanleka dug the rubbers of evil spirits and fed them to our child. It died. [Why did he want to kill the child?] Our child died in an epidemic. [I asked which really killed the child, the rubbers or the epidemic. She could not be pinned down to a definite answer either way but indicated that Fanleka was perhaps responsible for the child's death.]

[Why did you divorce Letfani?] Letfani had not paid his taxes. Soldiers came and took me away for this. They took many other women also. They took us first to Dikinape. Maninni spoke to Letfani, saying, "Here, take this gong, sell it, and buy back the women." But Letfani wasn't willing. He said, "Those women won't disappear. They will come home by and by." When the soldiers took me away, I had nothing to eat. We were in Dikinape one night and in Maimang two nights. We were gone four days in all. I came back in an angry mood. I saw that the soldiers and all who had come with them had broken off my corn and beans. They spoiled them all. I was sharing a garden with my younger sister, Marsiani. I had only one large bundle of corn from the garden that year. I hung it in my house. Then Malets and his father, Letfani, returned from sleeping in the ravine, where they had hidden themselves. They had eaten only wild tubers and crayfish. When they returned they ate up all my corn. I chased them away, saying, "Don't come near me. I was a prisoner, yet you didn't bring me food. You did not come near me." They ran off. I went to Alorkaleka to live and plant a garden. Part of the field I planted to rice